1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

Imra'al-Qeis refused and gathered together the tribes of Midhij,[1] who were another Qahtani tribe, and the tribe of Kinda and set out to attack the Beni Asad. By mistake he attacked the Kinana tribes instead of the Beni Asad, killing many of them, whereupon he cried out that he had revenged his father's death. When told of his mistake he was filled with remorse and returned to Dammūn. Then Nu'man bin al Mundhir, king of Hira in 'Iraq, who, as has been said, had been sowing discord among the tribes in Hadhramaut, brought an army against Imra'al-Qeis, causing all the tribes to follow him and declaring that if Imra'al-Qeis were captured, he must be killed, and if he ran away, no one was to render him assistance. As the tribes in the Hadhramaut were against him Imra'al-Qeis left and went to Syria. From Syria he went among the Arab tribes, but none would accept him. He then took refuge with the Emperor of Constantinople, who brought an army and marched against Nu'man at Angora. But the Beni Nu'man and the Beni Asad sent word to the Emperor that all the Arabs were against Imra'al-Qeis, whereupon the Emperor had him poisoned. His grave is at Angora and bears an inscription.

The Kinda tribes returned to Upper Hadhramaut and their kingdom extended no further than this territory. Between them and the Hadhramaut tribes there was always discord. The Saqsaq and Sukun tribes were in the Lower Hadhramaut. All these tribes were under petty chiefs, each in his own territory, and there was continual fighting between them.

CHAPTER III.

THE MIDDLE AGES OF THE HADHRAMAUT.

1. The Coming of Islam.

Then Islam came to the Hadhramaut. The Prophet Muhammad, on whom be peace, sent Ziad bin Dhubed in the eighth year of the Hejira[2] and he converted the Kinda and Hadhramaut tribes without

[1] The Midhij (or Madhagi) still exist as a clan of Upper 'Aulaqi and a son of the house is a pupil in the Aden Protectorate College for the sons of chiefs. They claim to be descended from a son of 'Abd Shems Saba named Mizzah or Madhig. They came from the north and once opposed Aelius Gallus' expedition. Wyman Bury. *Arabia Infelix*, p. 3.

[2] So Seiyid 'Abdul Qadir whose story is here continued. But Ziad does not appear to have come to the Hadhramaut at this date.

In the tenth year of the Hejira among the missions that came to Muhammad was one from the Hadhramaut. Wa'il bin Hoji, the coastal chief, and Al Ash'ath, chief of the interior, and both of the Beni Kinda arrived in Mecca and made their submission. Wa'il, the Prophet confirmed in his rights, subject to the payment of tithes, and Al Ash'ath was married to Um Farwa, the sister of Abubekr. He was not, however, allowed to take his bride home as her parents thought the Hadhramaut too far away. Some idea of Hadhramaut manners then prevailing can be gleaned from Wa'il's behaviour to the host to whom he had been allotted. Though the ground was scorching hot, Wa'il would neither allow his host to ride on his camel with him nor even lend him his sandals, declaring it was unheard of in the Yemen for a common man to wear the sandals of the king. Muir, *Caliphate*, p. 462.

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

175 bloodshed, but they were only nominally converted. At that time there were five rulers, four kings and a queen, Jemid, Manhûs, Maahera, Abdh'a, and their sister Al 'Amureda.' (The Prophet corresponded with these rulers as he corresponded with other sovereigns.)

When Abu Bekr became Caliph the tribes in the Hadhramaut fell away from Islam, so Ziad[2] brought an army from Yemen and the Hejaz and killed the five rulers, after which Hadhramaut tribes again became followers of Islam and were loyal to the other Caliphs and at first to their successors the Omeiyads. But in A.H. 128 (A.D. 746) the tribes revolted against the Omeiyads as the ruler of Yemen, 'Amr Qasim Bin 'Umar Ath Thaqafi, tyrannized over them.

175 Hadhramaut tribes then became Ibadhis' under Yahya bin 'Abdulla, known as Talib Al Haqq, from Kinda, who ruled the tribes after their revolt against the Omeiyads. All Hadhramaut was then Ibadhi and for twelve years recognized no outside authority, killing anyone who came to rule over them. But in A.H. 140 (A.D. 757) when the Abbasides were in power, Ma'n bin Zaida Ash Sheibani brought a large army from Yemen against them. He passed Henin and came to Furt al Hussein which lay between Henin and Qatn. Here the men of Hadhramaut met him and gave battle. They were defeated, 15,000 being killed including their ruler Talib al Haqq. Ma'n bin Zaida then ruled over the Hadhramaut under the Abbasides. Ma'n was a tyrant, and he

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[1] The princes of the Hadhramaut bore the title of 'Abâbila.

[2] Ziad was the Governor of the Hadhramaut under Al Muhâjir. About a year after the prophet's death, Al Muhâjir set forth for South Arabia and in due course met 'Akrima, who had been sent to subdue the Mahra, at Ma'rib. The two chiefs then proceeded to the Hadhramaut where Ziad was holding the country with difficulty. He had made himself unpopular with the Beni Kinda by his exactions of tithes, and in one of his raids had carried off the families of a tribe. Al Ash'ath gathered the clans and rescued the prisoners after which, being compromised, he raised the whole country against Ziad. At this moment Muhâjir and 'Akrima arrived and routed Al Ash'ath. At last in a desperate bid for personal safety Al Ash'ath offered to betray the remnant of his force. His terms were accepted and he was sent to Abubekr at Mecca. The Caliph spared his life and even allowed him to fulfil his marriage contract with his sister.

[3] In the reign of the second Merwan. At this time the Khawarij had spread extensively over South Arabia and 'Iraq and were often strong enough to paralyse the Government. 'Abdulla bin Ibadh, founder of the Ibadhis, whose only date we know is A.D. 744, was active in Merwan's reign. He belonged to the Tamimi tribe. To-day the Ibadhis are still the rulers of 'Oman and of Zanzibar and there is a community of them in Morocco.

Mas'udi says, (VI, 67) that Merwan gave command of an army to fight the Ibadhis to 'Abdul Malik bin Muhammad bin 'Atia as Sa'adi. "'Abdul Malik marched the Syrian troops of Merwan against the Yemen. 'Abdulla bin Yahya al Kindi set out from San'â and the two parties met in the district of Taif in the territory of Jorsh. There was a terrible battle which cost their lives to 'Abdulla and to the majority of the Ibadhis whom he commanded. The rest of the heretics took refuge in the Hadhramaut of which the population is almost all Ibadhi still in 332 of the Hejira. It does not differ in the way of beliefs from the Khawarij of Oman."

compelled all the people of the Hadhramaut to wear the black dress of the Abbasides.[1] 175

Hadhramaut remained loyal to the Abbasides to the year A.H. 263 (A.D. 877). During this time there had been about 53 Governors in the Hadhramaut. When the reign of the Abbasides came to an end, Hadhramaut became independent once again.[2]

2. Yemeni Domination.

We learn from Omārah[1] that the authority of Ibn Ziad, the Yemeni ruler who acquired the power and dignity formerly enjoyed by the Tubbas, extended to the provinces of Hadhramaut, ash Shihr, and Dīār Kinda. East of the Hadhramaut he was master of Merbat, and west, of Abyan, Lahej, and Aden, as well as the Red Sea coast as far as Hali. After the death of Muhammad ibn Ziad, his son 'Ibrahim and his grandson Ziyad followed. Ziyad was succeeded by his brother 'Abu'l Jeish Ishaq whose reign endured for a long time, according to Ibn Khaldun, until he had reached the age of eighty, though Omārah says he reigned eighty years over "Yemen, Hadhramaut and the maritime islands."

In A.H. 259 (A.D. 873) Muhammad ibn Ya'far succeeded to his father, and was invested by the Caliph al Mutamed, with the Government of San'ā. Hadhramaut was included in his dominions, " but he owed allegiance to the Ziyadites and paid them tributes."

The Ziyadite rule lasted a long time, and in A.H. 409 (A.D. 1018) their great Wazir, Ibn Salama, carried out one of his greatest public works. " Among the splendid works executed by Husayn ibn Salāmah must be reckoned the construction of great mosques and lofty minarets along the road from Hadhramaut to the city of Mecca (may God Most High guard it). The distance extends over sixty days' journey. He dug wells and channels with running water in solitary wildernesses, and he erected along the road constructions on which were indicated the distances in miles, in *parasangs*, and in stages. Some of these works I have seen, either in good order or in ruins, and of the remainder I have received descriptions from other persons, all agreeing with one another. The first stations were at Shibam and Tarim, two cities of Hadhramaut. (A footnote adds, " Of Tarim, al-Hamdāni merely says that it was a 491 175

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[1] The Beduins still wear the black of the Abbasides, though they think it was imposed upon them as a punishment. Unlike the townswomen who wear their dresses short in front and long behind, the women of the Beduins wear their dresses long all round, and it is thought that this too is a survival of the Abbasides. 291

[2] It is apparent that the Hadhramaut took hardly to Islam. After several vicissitudes the country shook down to orthodox Shafi'ism, but from the time of the Abbasides paid no more than lip service to the Caliphate. To-day, while there are mosques almost everywhere, one may suspect that the Beduins are more attached to their patron saints, whom they have adopted into Islam, than to orthodox worship. Laxity like this may have not a little to do with the bigotry of the conservative Saiyid party. 771

[1] See Key's Omārah, pp. 5, 141-2, 224.

175 491 large city" (p. 87, I. 17)). A series of mosques was built extending thence to Aden, to Abyan, and to Lahj, a distance of twenty days' journey. At each interval of one day's journey, there stood a mosque with a minaret and a well. As to Aden, it contained a mosque built by (the Khalifah) 'Omar ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz, which was restored by Husayn ibn Salāmah." (Kay's Omārah, p. 9.)

175 In A.H. 410 (A.D. 1019) the Beni Ma'n captured Aden and they also took the Hadhramaut.[1] In A.H. 460 (A.D. 1067) the tribes of the As Sulehi[2] took Aden and the Hadhramaut, but their power weakened and in A.H. 480 (A.D. 1087) Hadhramaut was once more independent. The tribe of Ar Rashid of Kinda governed from 'Aqad to Tarim, and at this time the Beni Ayub were ruling in Aden and Yemen.

In A.H. 574 (A.D. 1178) Othman Zingari, governor of the Beni Ayub, brought an army from Aden to the Hadhramaut and occupied all Hadhramaut, taking the Sultan of Ar Rashid of Kinda, Rashid bin Shijn'a, to Aden together with his two sons, 'Abdulla and Shijn'a. However, Yemen and Aden revolted against the Beni Ayub and returned the Sultan of Kinda with his sons to Hadhramaut where they ruled again.[3]

In A.H. 677 (A.D. 1278)[4] the Beni Rasul al Ghasanin occupied Yemen, and the Hadhramaut was under their protection with a ruler[5] 'Abdur Rahman bin Rashid of the Beni Rashid of Kinda, Sultan in Shihr, whose authority extended as far as Tarim.

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[1] The Beni Ma'n took Aden, Abyan, Lahej, Ash Shihr and Hadhramaut at this time. Of the ancestry of the Beni Ma'n there is no very clear account. "They established their power over Aden, in the days of Al Ma'mūn according to Ibn Khaldūn or according to 'Omārah, on the downfall of the Ziyadite dynasty." (Kay's Omārah, p. 308). Ibn Khaldun mentions that the Beni Ma'n claim descent from Ma'n bin Za'ida, governor of Yemen from A.H. 145–151 (A.D. 762–768), but this is contradicted by al Khazraji and 'Omārah.

[2] 'Ali bin Muhammad as Sulehi allowed the Beni Ma'n to remain in possession of their territories as governors under his authority.

[3] Here Al Khazraji fills a few gaps. In Muharram of A.H. 658 (A.D. 1259–60) the 'Amir 'Esedu'd Din Muhammad bin Hassan bin 'Ali bin Rasul demanded of the Yemeni Sultan, Melik Mudhaffer, Sultan Shemsu'd Din Yusuf bin 'Umar bin 'Ali bin Rasul (A.D.1250–1295), that he should be equipped with an army to invade the Hadhramaut. The Sultan complied, but the Hadhramaut was saved for twenty years from the Beni Rasul because of internal troubles in the Yemen which prevented the 'Amir from proceeding to the Hadhramaut.

[4] Al Khazraji relates that in A.D. 1278 the people of Hadhramaut appealed to Salim bin Idris lord of Dhufar, originally from Habuda near Shibam, for assistance in a great famine that afflicted the country, offering him their fortresses in exchange. He agreed to the terms, went to the Hadhramaut, gave the assistance needed, and returned to Dhufar. But when his back was turned the people "inclined with one sole inclination to their fortresses" and took them back. So Salim was "nearly killed with his regret for having wasted his goods to no purpose."

Salim then, as compensation for what he had lost in Hadhramaut, raided an envoy of the Yemeni Sultan Melik Mudhaffer who was driven ashore at Dhufar by unfavourable winds on his way to Persia. The result was a war with the Yemen in which Salim was killed. After capturing Dhufar the Yemeni forces proceeded to Shibam and took possession of it on the 8th of Ramadhan (20th January, 1279). Hadhramaut became submissive and the Sultan appointed as 'Amir, Muhammad bin Muhammad bin Naji, who adopted a conciliatory policy and thus avoided trouble.

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

A section of the Āl Yamāni of the Āl Tamim then fought with the Ar Rashid and finally occupied Tarim in A.H. 745 (A.D. 1344), after taking and losing it many times. They then ruled in Tarim and over the neighbouring country, while at this period the Saberāt tribe were ruling in Tarba, Būr, and Al Hasīsa, and the Nahd tribe were ruling over Shibam and the neighbouring country, so that the Hadhramaut was then divided under three ruling tribes, the Tamimi, the Saberāt, and the Nahd. This continued until A.H. 894 (A.D. 1489) when the Kathīris began to rise to power.[1] 175

CHAPTER IV.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MODERN HADHRAMAUT.

1. The Rise of the Kathīris.

The Kathīris originated from Dhufar[2] where they were Sultans. They had been living in the Hadhramaut but were of little importance and had no name given to them until they began to make themselves felt. In this year, 894 (A.D. 1489), Sultan 'Abdulla bin Ja'fer al Kathīr became Governor of Shihr (he was the man from whom the Āl 'Abdulla Kathīri took their name), but he did not live long and in 910 A.H. (A.D. 1504) was succeeded by his son Bedr Bu Tuweirak bin 'Abdulla[3] who reigned for sixty years and was well known in and out of the Hadhramaut. But the [174]

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[1] The next item of information in chronological order is given by Al Khazrajī In the month of Rabī'l 'Awal A.H. 768 (A.D. 1366–7) Melik Mudhaffer, son of Sultan Melik Mujāhid of the Rasuli dynasty, and the son of the Yemenite ('Ibnu'l-Yemaniyy) went against Shihr; but the lord thereof went out to meet them with his forces, when they were defeated and returned frustrated in the month of Jumad al 'Awal in this year 768 (January, 1367) . . . . The 'Amir Sārimu'd Dīn Dāu'd son of Musa son of Hanajir was appointed Governor of Shahr.

[2] The origin of the suggested connection of Dhufar with the Hadhramaut is sufficiently indicated above, but according to Miles (Vol. II, p. 515) the Kathīris came from the Hadhramaut at the close of the eighth century and invaded Dhufar. Hirsch says that 10,000 of the Kathīri came from the neighbourhood of San'ā about A.D. 1494. See also the Genealogy of the Kathīris in an Appendix.

[3] This famous Kathīri leader was born in A.H. 902 (A.D. 1497). His pedigree was bin 'Abdulla bin Ja'fer bin 'Abdulla bin 'Alī bin 'Umer. Miles states "The Shaikh Bedr, who is usually spoken of by the Katheeris as Bedr-ba-Towarek, is said to have been Mucoadam of Seyoon. He became Lord of Hadhramaut and Dhofar and extended his conquests as far east as Ras Sherbetat. It must be observed that Carter (H. J. Carter, Trans. Bombay As. Soc., 2845, 1847, 1851) makes no mention of Bedr, but was informed that the founder of the Katheeri Dynasty was Alī bin Omar al-Katheeri. Subsequently the Katheeris appear to have been overpowered by others, but ultimately regained supremacy, which they have maintained throughout the vicissitudes of successive years to the present day."

Further, Miles states, in connection with the geography of Dhufar, that the inhabitants of the plain mostly belong to the Kathīri tribe, who, with varying fortunes, have remained the predominant tribe in the plain ever since their invasion of Dhufar in the beginning of the ninth century of the Hejira. They are, he says, always at feud with the Qarra, by whom they are often attacked and harassed. The Kathīris, he states, are in two divisions, the 'Umar bin Kathīr and the 'Āmr bin Kathīr, both of which are represented in Dhufar, where they may number 2,500, occupying seven villages. He also mentions Darees as having been once the capital of the Kathīris.

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

175 Hadhramaut tribes were not loyal to him, nor was his own tribe the Shenafir, so he brought in men of the Zeidis, the Yafa'is, and also Turks from Suleiman the Magnificent.[1] There was continual fighting and at different periods the 'Amūdi and the Seibani occupied Shihr. In his time, also, the Portuguese came and fought at Shihr. Bu Tuweirak captured some of them and sent them to Jidda, for he was in alliance with the Turks.[2] His hold became very weak, and he could not even pay the wages of his Zeidis and Yafa'is who were able to take control of those places in which they were stationed. Bu Tuweirak's son, 'Abdulla, took his father prisoner and he was in prison for about two years when he died in A.H. 972 (A.D. 1565).[3] At his death his sons divided, one in Shihr, one in Shibam, and so on, and for two and a-half centuries there was continual trouble. It was owing to this division that 'Isa bin Bedr,[4] the founder of the Āl 'Isa bin Bedr Kathīris, took Shibam and established himself there.

'Abdulla bin Bu Tuweirak, however, had no real kingdom, and there was continual warfare. After much internal trouble some of the Āl 'Abdulla went to the Zeidis and Hadhramaut came under the Zeidis. This regime, however, did not last long, for Bedr bin Muhammad of the Āl 'Abdulla headed a revolution supported by 'Ali bin Ahmed bin Sheikh Bubekr of 'Einat. In A.H. 1116 (A.D. 1704) he brought an army of 6,000 Yafa'is under 'Umar bin Salih of the Beni Harbara, and turned out the Zeidis. The Kathīri tribe were much weakened and Tarim, Seiyun, and Taris became Yafa'i, but the Āl 'Isa bin Bedr Kathīris still retained Shibam, though apart from this they were reduced to joining their Beduins. The Āl 'Abdulla of the Kathīris were in Tarba, and one of them, Ghalib bin Muhsin, left Hadhramaut and went to India where he became a soldier under the Nizam and was promoted to the rank of Jemadar.

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[1] Another version states that it was 'Āmr bin Bedr who sought Yafa'i assistance, and with their aid was proclaimed ruler of Hadhramaut with the exception of the seaports which the Yafa'is retained.

[2] Another (Kathīri) historian tells me that besides expelling the Portuguese from Shihr, he defended the Hadhramaut from a Turkish occupation, insisting that the country, though under Turkish protection, was not a Turkish dependency. He sent presents to Constantinople and in 944 (A.D. 1537) received a firman and two robes of honour from Sultan Suleiman. From this time the Sultan's name as Caliph was recited in the Juma mosque at Shihr.

[3] Others say A.H. 977 (A.D. 1569).

[4] 'Isa bin Bedr bin 'Ali bin as Sultan Bedr Bu Tuweirak. 'Isa bin Bedr was always in trouble in Shibam because of internal dissension. The Zeidis occupied Hadhramaut with the help of his uncle 'Umar bin 'Ali, after which he left the country for Mocha, where he died. His sons succeeded him but they were not very strong and there was trouble at home and abroad. After them the sons of their uncles ruled and the ascendancy varied between 'Isa bin Bedr's family and 'Umar bin 'Ali's family, but until the Qu'aiti occupied the country the Hadhramaut was always unsettled, after that it became safe and calm. (Seiyid 'Abdul Qadir).

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

2. The Foundation of the Qu'aiti Fortunes.

In A.H. 1246 (A.D. 1830) there were with Ghalib in the Nizam's army 'Umar bin 'Awadh al Qu'aiti and 'Abdulla bin 'Ali al 'Aulaqi.[1] Ghalib was under the 'Aulaqi. Ghalib became rich and used to send money to his father's servants and also to his brother in Tarba. He then bought a village called Ghurf and a *husn* at Heid Qāsim which gave him the key to Tarim. His brother brought in 2,000 'Aulaqi soldiers and then requested Bin Gherāma, the Yafa'i ruler of Tarim, to sell him half the town, to which Bin Gherāma agreed; thus the Kathīris held half Tarim and the Yafa'is the other half. But Bin Gherāma with the support of the Tamimis revolted against the Kathīris, until at last the Āl 'Abdulla al Kathīri obtained more assistance from the 'Aulaqis and finally occupied all Tarim in A.H. 1263 (A.D. 1847), and took Seiyun and Taris in A.H. 1264 (A.D. 1848).[2] Bin Gherāma at first fled to Seiyun, then went to the Naqib of the Kasadi[3] at Mukalla to request his help, which was refused.

Meanwhile the family of Hajj 'Umar bin 'Awadh al Qu'aiti was living at Qatn. He had been born in Shibam but went to Hyderabad where he achieved fame in the Nizam's service.[4] He had three sons, 'Ali, Muhammad, and 'Awadh,[5] who were born in India but he sent them to live at Al Qatn in the charge of two slaves, Al Ma'a and Amba. At this time all the small villages round Qatn were Yafa'i, but Shibam was under the Āl 'Isa bin Bedr Kathīris, ruled over by Sultan Mansur, who, however, had no money so he sold half the town to the Qu'aitis of Qatn, and in A.H. 1246 (A.D. 1830) both were ruling in Shibam. At the 'Id al Fitr the Yafa'is went to Qatn to visit their relations, and Mansur the Kathīri killed those Yafa'is who remained in the town, declaring that the country was his. This was the beginning of the Qu'aiti—Kathīri trouble.

Fighting was continual, but the Kathīris were more powerful. Some of the Yafa'is sent a mission to Hajj 'Umar bin 'Awadh, who was then in India, and it was for this reason that he sent his

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[1] He married an Indian lady and had two sons, 'Ali and Muhsin, who were both dead by 1909. Muhsin was known at Hyderabad as Muqaddam Jung.

[2] The Yafa'is retook Seiyun in 1265 (A.D. 1849) but lost it again to the Kathīris in the same year. (Seiyid 'Abdul Qadir).

[3] The Kasadis were also from Yafa'. They are a section of the Di Nakhīb of Lower Yafa'. (Seiyid 'Abdul Qadir).

[4] The "locals" of Shibam recount the following story to account for 'Umar's departure to India: There is an old mosque in the town and in the old days vegetable oil was used in the lamps. The people were surprised to find that every morning the oil had all gone, so a trap was laid for the thief, fish oil being put in the lamps instead of vegetable oil. Next day when 'Umar bin 'Awadh walked abroad it was found that he was reeking of fish oil, having been in the habit of using the oil for his hair. To avoid the scandal he agreed to exile himself to India.

[5] Actually five. Muhammad who died early, 'Awadh who became Jemadar Nawaz Jung under the Nizam and was Sultan of Shihr, 'Abdulla who represented the family in Hadhramaut, Salih, known as Farak Jung, who looked after the family interests at Hyderabad and died in 1880, and 'Ali who lived apart from his brothers at the Nizam's court.

175 three sons, mentioned before, to Qatn. He also sent soldiers who besieged Shibam for 16 years, during which time the inhabitants were reduced to eating leather. At last the Seiyids of Āl 'Aidarus were called in to arbitrate. They decided that the Qu'aitis should have one half of Shibam and the Kathīris the other half. To this they agreed, and in A.H. 1274 (A.D. 1858) Shibam was divided. Mansur, however, was not satisfied. After preparing a certain house for a feast and placing gunpowder in the building he invited the Yafa'is to dinner, including 'Ali, Muhammad, and 'Awadh, the sons of 'Umar bin 'Awadh, and their two slaves Al Ma's and Amba. But they were warned of what was to happen, so 'Awadh sent an excuse saying that they had received good news from their father and were celebrating the occasion with a "fantazia". However he sent small groups of Yafa'is at different times to attend Mansur's feast; they would eat quickly and then excuse themselves. Afterwards 'Awadh invited Mansur to his house, and when he came, alone, they cut his throat. Then they killed all the Āl 'Isa Kathīris they found until the whole place was Qu'aiti.[1]

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[1] The following is a version, from the Kathīri side, of Hadhramaut history from the introduction of Yafa'is by Bedr down to the incident which established the Qu'aitis as lords of Shibam.

Until after 900 of the Hejira (A.D. 1504) the descendants of Rashid bin Qahtan were rulers of the Hadhramaut. Bedr bin 'Abdulla enlisted Yafa'is as mercenaries in order to strengthen his position. They settled in the Hadhramaut as soldiers under him and his successors and are still known as 'askhir. In the course of time they attached themselves to the Seiyids of Āl Sheikh Bubekr bin Salim and secured a share in the country. In A.H. 1119 (A.D. 1707) they revolted against the Kathīris, over-ran Tarim and Seiyun, and expelled their former masters from most of the Hadhramaut towns. In 1165 (A.D. 1752) the Āl Bureik established themselves in Shihr with the help of the Āl 'Attas Seiyids. About the year 1222 (A.D. 1807) the Wahābis succeeded in occupying the Hadhramaut, and in 1231 (A.D. 1816) captured Shihr, but they were turned out of the country.

Presently the oppression of the Yafa'is induced many of the Kathīris to emigrate to Java and Singapore where they attained great wealth. In their new country the exiles pondered over the disturbed state of their home, and in 1250 (A.D. 1834) Seiyid 'Abdulla bin 'Umar bin Yahya conceived plans for expelling the Yafa'is. Sultan Ghalib bin Muhsin al Kathīri, who was in the army of the Nizam of Hyderabad, sent his brother 'Abdulla as regent of the Hadhramaut, and the Yafa'is were expelled from Tarim, Seiyun, and the neighbouring villages. In the month of Rajab 1263 (A.D. 1847) Sultan 'Abdulla and the Seiyids concluded a pact of co-operation for the establishment of an era of peace and justice in the Hadhramaut.

In 1266 (A.D. 1850) Seiyid Ishaq bin 'Aqil bin Yahya al Hadhrami came from Hejaz in a ship with 400 soldiers lent by the Sharif. His aim was to assist the Kathīris, but with the help of the Kasadi Naqib the Āl Bureik succeeded in preventing their landing at Shihr.

The Yafa'is now sought revenge, and those in India persuaded Hajj 'Umar bin 'Awadh al Qu'aiti to help them. 'Umar sent his slave, Hajj Al Ma's al Habshi, as his representative to the Hadhramaut with considerable funds. On arrival Al Ma's declared his loyalty to the Seiyids and offered to assist in matters concerning the welfare of the country. He then purchased half of the town of Shibam for his master from Sultan Mansur al Kathīri, but, acting under instructions from his master, he deceived Mansur and murdered him. In this way the Qu'aitis obtained sole control of Shibam in 1274 (A.D. 1858).

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

3. The Kasadis, and the Qu'aiti Rise to Power.

In 1842 'Abdur Rab, the Kasadi Naqib of Mukalla, died, and his son Salih was forcibly dispossessed of his inheritance by his cousin Muhammad 'Abdul Habib. Like many usurpers Muhammad disturbed everybody, and in a few months had starved his *Wazir*, Seiyid Abreidi, to death on suspicion of treachery, and caused all whom he could find of his late uncle's issue to be murdered. Two sons and a grandson escaped and fled to Aden, but the Government of India declined to interfere though it gave them a small donation. Such was Britain's first official contact with the Hadhramaut.

In 1850 the Turks sent a force of some 800 men to annex Shihr and Mukalla, but they were defeated at an engagement at Burum and fled to Sharma whence the chief of Shihr dislodged them. The next year the Naqib offered Mukalla to the British as he feared further Turkish activities, but the offer was declined. Shortly afterwards Muhammad 'Abdul Habib died and was succeeded by his son Salih. In 1867 a Turkish warship made a further endeavour to annex Mukalla, Shihr, and the whc'e coast, but the Turkish pretension of sovereignty was evaded by the chiefs who were anxious for British protection. Naqib Salih, like his father, offered Mukalla to the British, and it was again refused, though some steps were taken towards dissuading the Turks from further interference. Four years after this offer (1873) Salih died and was succeeded by his feebleminded son 'Umar. His reign had been marked by the conclusion of two treaties with the British, in 1863 and 1873, for the abolition of the Slave Trade.

Meanwnile the old struggle of Kathiri *versus* Yafa'i had continued, both sides being subsidized by their friends and relations in India. The Yafa'i had prevailed to the extent, as has been related, of capturing and holding Shibam. 'Abdulla bin 'Ali the 'Aulaqi, too, had staked a small claim in the country, for he had purchased Sidda or Hazm, close to Shihr, from the Al Bureik who possessed that town.[1]

In 1866 the Kathiri captured Shihr and 'Ali Naji, the Bureiki ruler, fled to Aden. The Al Bureik now appealed to the Qu'aiti for help, and 'Awadh, with a party of armed Arabs left Bombay, and attacking Shihr by sea and land drove out the Kathiris. However, they did not restore it to the Al Bureik, but kept it. Kasadi and Qu'aiti now united for the last time when 'Awadh and Salih attacked the Kathiri and were beaten. Shortly after the two fell out and the struggle in the Hadhramaut became Qu'aiti *versus* Kathiri and Qu'aiti *versus* Kasadi.

[1] The Al Bureik of Hadhramaut and Shabwa occupied Shihr for 150 years, then the Al 'Abdulla Kathiris held it.

175 'Awadh was quick to perceive that 'Umar, Salih's son and successor, was a weak-minded youth, and, seizing his opportunity, set out again from India whither he had retired after his recent reverse. Arrived in the Hadhramaut, he sent a claim for 160,000 dollars for assistance rendered eight years previously by the Qu'aiti to the Kasadi against the Kathiri Sultan, Ghalib bin Muhsin. 'Awadh followed up this demand with an apparently friendly visit to the Naqib, taking in his train 500 soldiers. 'Umar received him with all honour, and while he was in Mukalla, 'Awadh increased the number of his followers by constant accessions. The greater part of the Naqib's forces were absent at this time subduing a revolt in Du'an, and when 'Awadh deemed himself sufficiently strong he demanded payment of the debt or, as an alternative, that he should buy the half of Mukalla and Burum for 240,000 dollars. As 'Umar was helpless he accepted the alternative (1290 A.H.—A.D. 1873) and 'Awadh paid him 80,000 dollars, the balance due after deducting the debt. Having pocketed his dollars 'Umar recalled his troops from Du'an and captured 'Awadh at Mukalla, but eventually allowed him to depart unconditionally.

'Umar then allied himself with his late enemies the Kathiri and with 'Abdulla 'Ali the 'Aulaqi. With their help he captured al Gheil, Reiyan, and Mesajida, but was repulsed from Shihr. 'Awadh, the Qu'aiti, attacked Burum, but was repulsed and in 1874 chartered a ship at Bombay in an attempt to transfer troops from Shihr to some point where he could attack the Naqib. The ship, however, was detained at Aden and not allowed to proceed. The Qu'aiti then sought aid from the Yemen but without receiving any substantial assistance. Further attempts by the Qu'aiti and the Kasadi to purchase ships to move their troops also proved fruitless, and during 1874-5 hostilities were continued with varying success, though it gradually became clear that the Qu'aiti was the more powerful chief. They blockaded each other's ports, but the blockades being utterly ineffective were forbidden by the British Government.

In 1876 the Qu'aiti attacked the Kathiris in Tarim and captured al Gheil, which had practically been evacuated by the Kathiris in order to relieve Tarim. Supplies began to fail the Kasadi and they had to evacuate Reiyan and Mesajida which were at once occupied by the Qu'aiti. In the same year the Sharif of Mecca offered the Naqib to mediate, but he was advised by the Aden Residency not to accept, and shortly afterwards the Government of India took a turn in the dispute by trying to bring hostilities to an end and then to offer mediation. Both sides were, however, obstinate, and the Government declared that it would only mediate when both parties consented to stop fighting.

At the end of 1876 the Resident succeeded in concluding a two years' truce between the parties, and early the following year the Qu'aiti showed some signs of willingness to accept the Resident's

arbitration, then, in the usual way, complicated the case by claims to the sovereignty of Dis, and said that even if that question were settled his claim to 240,000 dollars must also be acknowledged by Government. 175

In 1877 the Naqib's chances became extremely slender, as the Qu'aiti had concluded a ten years' truce with the Kathiri in consideration of the evacuation of Tarim, and the Naqib had quarrelled with his brother Muhammad. In 1878 Dis, Sharma, and al Qarn fell to the Qu'aitis, and the Naqib appealed to the Sultan of Muscat to intervene, but the Government considered this undesirable.

Meanwhile the truce ran out and with much difficulty was renewed for a few months, while Government started consideration of the action that should be taken. It was not until January, 1881, that they decided that both chiefs should be persuaded to accept an agreement for the repayment of the debt and the cancellation of the transfer of Mukalla and Burum from the Kasadi to the Qu'aiti. As the Naqib continued to press for a British protectorate, failing which he proposed to hand over his territory to anybody that would take it, the Turks, Italians, French, Kathiris, and Zanzibar. being mentioned, he was to be warned of the consequences of disposing of his country without the consent of Government, though Government declined to announce its final intentions until the chiefs had accepted its proposals. The Naqib accepted at once, but the Qu'aiti declined on several pretexts. Pending further orders, a 15 days' truce was arranged, followed by another for nine days, during which time, Government, having already stopped hostilities by sea, decided to stop them by land.

In February both parties signed the alternative agreements presented to them which provided, one, for half Mukalla and Burum becoming the Qu'aiti's property with a British Officer appointed at Mukalla, the second, which provided for Mukalla and Burum being handed over to the Qu'aiti for 300,000 dollars, and the third for the repayment of the 240,000 dollars. Government now decided on the second alternative, and the Qu'aiti agreed to pay the money, but the Naqib declined to sell Mukalla outright and refused to cede it to the British unless they undertook not to hand it to the Qu'aiti, and he came to Aden to impress his views.

Government, however, decided to support the Qu'aiti, and after various proceedings, political and naval, lasting from May to November of 1881, the Qu'aiti obtained full possession of Mukalla. The Naqib, after handing over his forts to H.M.S. *Dragon*, left Mukalla for ever and arrived in Aden with 2,800 followers. Some of these subsequently returned to Mukalla, others went to Lahej, and the Naqib, with about a thousand men, left Aden in December and in January 1882 landed in Zanzibar.

The balance of the price of Mukalla was paid in due course by the Qu'aiti and invested for the benefit of the ex-Naqib, who was also granted an income of 1,000 dollars a month by Seiyid Barghash

175 bin Said, Sultan of Zanzibar. It was not until 1888 that he consented to use the interest on the sum invested, which had then amounted to 230,000 rupees, for his own use.[1]

148 In 1882 a treaty was entered into with 'Abdulla and 'Awadh, the 643 Qu'aiti Jemadars, whereby due provision was made for the ex-Naqib and for the payment of an annual sum by the British Government to the Qu'aiti of 360 dollars a year. The Qu'aiti bound themselves not to dispose of any of the Hadhramaut territories to any person or power other than the British Government, and in 1888 a Protectorate treaty was concluded. Jemadar 'Abdulla died a few months later and 'Awadh became sole ruler. In 1900 the Qu'aiti dominions were further extended by the purchase, from the Wahidi, 534 of Meifa, and in 1902 the Sultan's old title of Jemadar was finally abolished and he was recognised by the title of Sultan.[2] Sultan

[1] To-day Naqib 'Abdur Rab, 'Umar's son, the present head of the family, is a respected member of Zanzibar society. He has lived in a quiet and unobtrusive fashion, and he and his people have been absorbed into the population in which they are an indistinguishable element. The Naqib has adopted the fashions of dress and living of the Omani section of the population, while the rest of the large Hadhramaut element in Zanzibar forms a very distinct community of its own.

[2] The following is a continuation of the Kathiri narrative of Hadhramaut history, from the same source as before.

In 1283 (A.D. 1866), at the suggestion of Seiyid Ishaq bin 'Aqil, Sultan Ghalib bin Muhsin al Kathiri succeeded in occupying Shihr. He then marched against Mukalla but was defeated by the Naqib bin Sala's forces at Harshiat. The next year Jemadar 'Awadh bin 'Umar al Qu'aiti arrived from India with Indian and Yafa'i troops to attack Shihr. He landed with his forces at Hami, proceeded to Shihr, and with the assistance of the Kasadis captured the place and expelled the Kathiris. In 1287 (A.D. 1870) Seiyid Is'haq bin 'Aqil went to Hyderabad and proposed to the Qu'aitis, Salih and 'Awadh, and to the Kathiris, that they should retain those parts of the Hadhramaut which they respectively ruled and that they should co-operate with the Seiyids in the establishment of justice, the improvement in the condition of the country, and the maintenance of security on the routes. He also proposed that the Qu'aiti should pay to the Al 'Abdulla $50,000 on entering into an agreement with him, and an annual sum of $20,000, to be paid from Shihr customs revenue, for the upkeep of the garrison of Tarim and Seiyun. The Kathiris, however, declined these terms and made preparations for invading Shihr. To achieve this object the Kathiris enlisted the assistance of the 'Aulaqi and the Al 'Umar Bā 'Umar, the respective rulers of Ghail and Soda. The 'Aulaqi was able to supply them with considerable funds from India, as he too, held a position similar to that of the Qu'aiti and the Kathiri in the Government of the Nizam.

Hearing of this alliance, 'Awadh immediately started hostilities against the 'Aulaqi and the Al Bā 'Umar. At the end of a year he had defeated them and annexed Ghail and Soda. 'Awadh now entered into an agreement with the Kasadi Naqib, 'Umar Salih, for invading the Hadhramaut. Leaving Shihr and Mukalla respectively, the united forces marched against the Al 'Abdulla, but the Kathiris beat off their attacks and forced them to retire. The Naqib 'Umar Salih then died and 'Awadh left for India.

'Umar was succeeded by his son Salih. Jemadar 'Awadh now returned from India, and, taking advantage of the despatch of soldiers by the Naqib to Du'an to fight against the Al 'Amudi, sent some of his troops to Mukalla, and demanded from the Naqib half of the expenditure incurred in the expedition against the Hadhramaut which he had undertaken with 'Umar Salih. The Ya'ai chiefs then intervened and decided that the Naqib should surrender half Mukalla.

3:Smith J-3 (no date)1953 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

pools built by the rich and progressive class of Seyyeds, whose many innovations have re-made the face of this ancient land of the Queen of Sheba.

The political frontiers of the Kathiri State describe a finger pointed downward from the Rub-al-Khali into the heart of Hadhramaut. They enclose an area of some six thousand square miles and a population of sixty thousand, a third of whom dwell in the city of Seiyun. The state's current average annual revenue runs close to $100,000.[1]

Early Kathiri history is obscure. Forebears of the present sultan once controlled all of Hadhramaut, but in the eighteenth century the al-Quaiti, an immigrant tribe of Yemeni origin, wrested control of the coastal region from their Kathiri overlords at Seiyun and gradually established hegemony over interior tribes until today the Quaiti State comprises nearly the whole of Hadhramaut. Until the "Peace of Ingrams,"[2] modern Kathiri history was dominated by constant and costly warfare between Seiyun and the parvenu Quaiti power at Mukalla.

The present Kathiri ruler, His Highness Sultan Husayn Ali Ibn Mansur, succeeded to the throne on May 22, 1950, and was one of the five Aden chiefs selected to attend the Coronation of Queen Elizabeth.[3] It is through Sultan Husayn's generous and patient correspondence that much of this statistical information concerning his far-off land has been gathered.

Political organization in the Kathiri State is patterned closely after administrative machinery in Malaya.[4] Executive authority is vested in the sultan assisted by a Council of State of which the ruler is president and the British Resident an ex-officio member. The Council's remaining members include: the Kathiri State Secretary (*Wazir*) and heads of the departments of the Treasury, Customs, Education and Judiciary, in addition to four un-

[1] In 1951 the East African shilling, worth about $0.14, replaced the Indian rupee as legal tender in the Protectorate.

[2] William Harold Ingrams, last of the old-style empire-builders, did much to pacify and organize modern Hadhramaut in the years 1934-44. He was the first Resident Adviser to the states of Hadhramaut and the Eastern Aden Protectorate. To him, Hadhramis have given the name, "Peace-maker of the Desert."

[3] Others invited: the sultans of Mukalla, Lahej, Shaqra and the Amir of Dhala, the latter three, prominent chiefs of the Western Aden Protectorate.

[4] Ingrams visited Singapore in 1940 to study the operation of local governments in the Malay States for ways of stepping-up efficiency in native rule in the Hadhramaut.

S. Pike N-4 (no date) 1940 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

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mineral content of the water seem to affect agriculture adversely. A striking example is seen about five miles north of Shihr where a series of springs depositing sulphur and gypsum have built an impressive mound, on which the village of Tabala stands. Their abundant and continued flow enables extensive irrigation by hand-dug canals and aqueducts and affords a means of livelihood for several hundred

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FIG. 19.—A caravan settling down for the night on the cold and stony Jol in the lengthening shadows of the setting sun. A caravan stops wherever night may overtake it and with little or no cover the Bedouins find a place to rest among the stones and shiver themselves to sleep. A coating of indigo stain with which the Bedouins not uncommonly paint themselves is said to be some defense against the night air.

people. The temperature of these springs on emergence is not far below boiling point, and they are reported to be the hottest on the coast.

At the small village of Harshiat, 3½ miles north of Mukalla, a few tepid sulphurous springs likewise are valuable for their yield. At the village of Gheil ba Wazir, on the inland road between Mukalla and Shihr, is an extensive gypsum flat and also a group of gypsum-depositing springs. Here a tobacco-raising community has sprung up. A part of the arable land is devoted to the growing of dates and millet and the remainder to tobacco, for which, owing to a quality unsurpassed in Southern Arabia, demand exceeds supply.

The small community of Husn Baquidran depends on a limited but constant supply of nongypsiferous sulphur water in the mountains of the Wadi Hajr, 30 miles from the coast. Irrigation is practiced on a small scale. The sites of Sidara and Mahamda, on the Wadi Hajr above Husn Baquidran, were determined by the presence of several groups of sulphur springs that are used for irrigation and consumption.

VEGETATION

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• 175

Today only the seaward fringe of the Dhufar Coast region, which during the pre-Islamic empires of the Minaeans, Sabaeans, and

8: Pike N-4 (no date) 1940 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

Himyarites was an important export center for incense and myrrh, has enough rainfall to support a thin growth of vegetation, largely incense trees. From this area and the surrounding country, at one time more abundantly watered, the priceless gum was most extensively collected in the past. It is still gathered today in small amounts, according to demand. The gum, which adheres to the bark, is har-

FIG. 66 Caravan loading. The three men at the right are arguing about the disposition of loads.

vested from varieties of the Burseraceae family, *Boswellia Carterii* and *B. Bhau-Dajiana*, divided by the Arabs into four grades.[4] Its value, which ranges from £80 to £10 a ton, depends on such qualities as color (red, green, and brown), size of the gum particles, and degree of adulteration. Just as the rubber gatherers of the Amazon debased latex with pebbles and gravel, so did the Arabs in the heyday of the incense trade, and to some extent even now, admix varying amounts of fine sand with the gum to increase its weight. Between March and August the trees are tapped by knife incision and a milky juice is extracted, which dries in three to five days.

Besides incense trees, a thin and scattered growth of bunch grass, camel's-thorn, and a cedarlike evergreen abundant in some dry wadies is found in the Hadhramaut. Date-palm groves, which cover many square miles, are mainly dependent on irrigation.

Sources of Water Supply

In addition to artesian water and the water obtained from wells, other sources of supply are available. One of these is the *siqaya*, a small, rectangular, concrete tank with a capacity of 20 or 25 gallons erected along caravan routes near towns and maintained by them as a public service. Another is the well or cistern excavated at the base

[4] Freya Stark: The Southern Gates of Arabia, [New York], 1936, pp. 10–11.

9. Ingrams G-4 (1934-1944) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

121 present condition. It is not easy to illustrate that with lantern slides, but I wanted to use the illustrations mainly to enable you to see some of the differences between each division, something of the nature of the country, the appearance of the people and, above all, the architecture.

The Divisions of South-West Arabia

101 175 From an Arab point of view, in geography and history South-West Arabia consists of two countries, the Yemen and the Hadhramaut, but actually to-day its four distinct areas are the Kingdom of the Yemen, the Western Aden Protectorate, the Hadhramaut or Eastern Aden Protectorate, and the Colony of Aden.

175 681 In Islamic times and until the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Western Aden Protectorate and Aden were part of the Kingdom of the Yemen, but various governors and sheikhs of the Western Aden Protectorate only held an uneasy allegiance to the Yemen and broke away as practically independent units. They remained independent until they concluded treaties with His Majesty's Government, mostly last century. Thus the Aden Protectorate gradually grew up. What is now the Colony of Aden was captured from Lahej in 1839 or ceded at later dates. Towards the end of the nineteenth century treaties were made with the coastal chiefs of the Hadhramaut. In 1914 a British sphere of influence in South-West and South-East Arabia was arranged with the Turks. The Turks had twice occupied but never fully conquered the Yemen, and their insecure rule came to an end after the last war, when the Imam became independent.

In pre-Islamic times the Hadhramaut was for a period an independent kingdom. From the time of the Prophet's mission until the ninth century it submitted uneasily to the rule of the Caliphate, and then became independent again, though for periods during succeeding centuries—until the thirteenth century—it was claimed by the Yemen. There was a final short period of Yemeni domination at the end of the seventeenth century, but the Zeidis were finally turned out in 1704. The Hadhramaut remained independent until 1888, when the British Protectorate over the Qu'aiti started.

Down to 1937 the Aden Protectorate, often known as the Nine Cantons, and the Hadhramaut were treated as two ill-defined entities, but as the treaties with the chiefs of both were similar, the two were united as one protectorate by Order in Council that year. When, however, a forward policy in the Hadhramaut was started in that same year, they were again considered separate for administrative purposes, and the old Aden Protectorate was called the Western Protectorate and the Hadhramaut and Mahra country the Eastern.

681 There are such great differences between the Western Aden Protectorate and the Eastern Aden Protectorate that they should be considered separate areas when one is thinking of the divisions of South-West Arabia. Indeed, the Eastern Aden Protectorate could well be considered as two areas itself—the Hadhramaut in the west, and in the east, linked with Socotra, the Mahri country, much more primitive than the Hadhramaut and probably more primitive than the Western Aden Protectorate. It has

Bl. Thomas T-5 (no date) 1932 HD42 Hadhramaut MM2

The tribes of the Central South have a poor reputation as regards the *radud-as-salaam*.[1] The *radud-as-salaam* merely means that when two persons meet, between whose tribes there is blood or other enmity, and one says to the other—" Peace be upon you " and the other replies " And upon you be peace," they have buried the hatchet for the nonce. For one now to take advantage of the other and slay him in his sleep, for instance, would in any other part of Arabia be the deepest treachery. Not so amongst this lawless brood, however. That it may happen elsewhere is possible, but normally the offender would be hounded out of his own tribe or be required to make some requital and his name would be for ever smirched. These non-Arabic speaking tribes of the Central South have no such regard for the elsewhere universal law. They also observe in the breach what is elsewhere a fixed canon, the *thama-al-bata* or " stomach price." This is an elaboration of the law of three days' hospitality. If a Badu has eaten the salt of a man his goods are safe for a period of four days and four nights, the time for the last vestige of food to have passed from his body. If the Badu's tribe unwittingly raids the man during these four days they must and do return the loot. This *thama-al-bata* is sacred with the other tribes of the southern fringe but not with the non-Arab group. Who and whence are these tribes? Indigenous? Of African origin? or have they a common origin with African tribes, or are none of these hypotheses tenable? Here is an almost black race of brachycephals, and brachycephaly properly belongs to Asia. The answer is for you to decide. History sheds but little light.

In the year A.D. 1325 Ibn Batuta, the great Moorish traveller and theologian, set out on his 25 years' travels through Egypt, Arabia, and Mesopotamia and elsewhere. He sojourned in Dhufar and amongst what he wrote of it was this :—" Another thing is that its people closely resemble the people of North-West Africa in their customs. . . . The outlying population is not Arab, but of a Sudanic type." Does Ibn Batuta help us?

The following discussion took place after the paper :—

Sir Arthur Keith said that Capt. Bertram Thomas had thrown light on one of the darkest anthropological corners of the world. It was now clear that the Southern Arabs were very different from the Northern Arabs—in almost every respect. If one sought to trace the affinities of the Southern Arabs by judging from their external appearances—as revealed in Capt. Thomas's photographs—one was immediately reminded of the native type of North-Eastern Africa. To his eye the Southern Arabs showed in their fuzzy hair and black—or dark brown—pigmentation of hair and skin, as well as in their facial features, distinct Hamitic or Somali-like affinities. On the other hand, Capt. Thomas's measurements of heads proved that the Southern Arabs differed from the Hamitic peoples of Africa and also from the Arabs of Northern Arabia in having skulls which were short and wide. The width of the heads of Southern Arabs was between 80 per cent. and 90 per cent. of the length. The Southern Arabs were distinctly and highly round-headed—or brachycephalic. Hamitic peoples and the Bedawin (Arab) type of Northern and North-Western Arabia were usually long-headed or dolichocephalic. Thus Capt. Thomas's observations confirmed the data collected by Professor C. G. Seligman fourteen years ago that the people of Southern Arabia are round-headed or brachycephalic.

Although the Southern Arabs—who were of low stature, the men being usually about 64 inches in height—showed certain Hamitic traits in their features, yet these were overshadowed by others which proclaimed an affinity to the Caucasian or white stock of mankind. They were less fully bearded than the Northern Arab and yet more so than among Hamites. In some respects the South Arabian type bridged the difference between Semite and Hamite.

[1] It is only within comparatively recent times that the Southern would recognize the rules at all.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

443 passed through this unknown world, and the desire and hope, until now cautiously suppressed, grew unconsciously within us, to enter the land that lay behind the town and to learn to know its people.

2. THE VIZIER SAYYID ABŪ BAKR BIN ḤUSĒN EL-MIḤḌĀR.

645 We made acquaintance, the morning after our arrival, with [643] the Vizier, who, in the absence of the Sultan, deals with state affairs. Sayyid Abū Bakr bin Ḥusēn el-Miḥḍār is a man in the prime of life; he is energetic, has a congenial, alert personality, and shows absolutely no sign of opposition to the *Naṣrānīs*, the *Efrendjīs*. The heavy task of governing the Qe-645 ᶜēṭī Sultanate falls chiefly upon his solid shoulders. His popu-565 larity is supported doubly by tradition: in the first place, as 175 sayyid he belongs to the class of spiritual and worldly leaders, for he is a direct descendant of the Prophet, and, in the second place, the house of Abū Bakr was, six generations ago, the most influential family of Ḥaḍramaut.[1] In an evil hour, in their struggle against the Bedouin tribes, they called in the help of the Yāfiᶜ, a tribe noted for its fighting qualities. Its Sultan sent help under one Qeᶜēṭī, who, after having delivered the sayyids of the el-Miḥḍār family from their enemies, took the leadership into his own hands. The power of his family expanded. In 1874 the Qeᶜēṭīs asked the British Government in Aden to intervene for the purpose of reaching a settlement in a war, which had arisen over the refusal of the Āl Kathīr to repay a sum of money which had been lent to them. On this occasion Makalla and esh-Shiḥr were, with the help of the British, taken away from the Kathīrī Sultan and handed over to the Qeᶜēṭī, but the family of el-Miḥḍār had remained the leading one of that region.

701 The Vizier declared that he had *no* objection to our journey 567 into the interior. The route via Wādī Dōᶜan was safe, provided

[1] Bent, *op. cit.*, p. 75; *A Handbook of Arabia*, i. (London, 1920), p. 542 *sq.*

5:Gt. Brit. Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM21

8,000 feet high and falls away into the Ruba' al Khali (or Empty Quarter), with a mean altitude of 2,500 feet. The country between the littoral belt on the one hand and the intramontane plains and the plateau on the other is a tangle of mountains, ravines and valleys. Some of the valleys are very fertile. The plateau itself is broken up by numerous hills and mountains and is intersected with several deep valleys.

The greater part of the Eastern Aden Protectorate consists of desert and barren mountains intersected by wadis, some of which are fertile and cultivated. There are a number of comparatively large towns, notably Mukalla, the capital of the Qu'aiti State and principal seaport, and Seiyun, the capital of the Kathiri State.

Chapter 12: Administration

The Eastern Aden Protectorate comprises the Hadhramaut (consisting of the Qu'aiti State of Shihr and Mukalla, and the Kathiri State of Seiyun), the Mahri Sultanate of Qishn and Socotra, the Wahidi Sultanates of Bir 'Ali and the Sheikhdoms of Irqa and Haura, all of which have been for many years in protective treaty relations with His Majesty's Government. His Highness Sultan Sir Salih bin Ghalib al Qu'aiti, K.C.M.G., Sultan of Shihr and Mukalla, is the premier chief in the Eastern Aden Protectorate, and the Hadhramaut is the most important and best organised of these areas. It is bounded on the west by the Wahidi Sultanates and on the east by the Mahri Sultanate.

The Mahri Sultanate of Qishn and Socotra is the most easterly area in the Aden Protectorate, being bounded on the east by the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman. The Sultan of Qishn and Socotra resides on the island of Socotra, which lies off Africa, 150 miles from Cape Guardafui. The island was occupied by the East India Company in 1834, and it came under British protection, together with the neighbouring Abdel Kuri and Brothers Islands, in 1866, when the treaty with the Mahri Sultan was concluded. Socotra produces aloes, dragons' blood and ghee. The population is probably about 5,000; the island is rather less than 100 miles from east to west and about 30 miles broad. Its interior is mountainous, and the Fidahan Hajr rises to nearly 5,000 feet. The capital is Hadibu, shown on European maps as Tamarida.

The interests of the Western Aden Protectorate are looked after by a small cadre of British political officers and Arab assistant political officers under a British Agent, whose headquarters are in Aden. The political staff who are posted to administrative districts inland advise the local rulers on the administration of their areas, since His Majesty's Government does not administer the Protectorate directly.

The tribes nominate their own chiefs, who have subsequently to be recognised by the Governor of Aden. Not all the chiefs have complete control over their subjects, but since 1943 the authority of some of them

G. Gt. Brit. Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2

the Mahri Sultanate of Qishn and Socotra, the Wahidi Sultanates of Bir'Ali and the Sheikhdoms of Irqa and Haura, all of which have been for many years in protective treaty relations with His Majesty's Government. His Highness Sultan Sir Salih bin Ghalib al Qu'aiti, K.C.M.G., Sultan of Shihr and Mukalla, is the premier chief in the Eastern Aden Protectorate, and the Hadhramaut is the most important and best organised of these areas. It is bounded on the west by the Wahidi Sultanates and on the east by the Mahri Sultanate.

The Mahri Sultanate of Qishn and Socotra is the most easterly area in the Aden Protectorate, being bounded on the east by the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman. The Sultan of Qishn and Socotra resides on the island of Socotra, which lies off Africa, 150 miles from Cape Guardafui. The island was occupied by the East India Company in 1834, and it came under British protection, together with the neighbouring Abdel Kuri and Brothers Islands, in 1866, when the treaty with the Mahri Sultan was concluded. Socotra produces aloes, dragons' blood and ghee. The population is probably about 5,000; the island is rather less than 100 miles from east to west and about 30 miles broad. Its interior is mountainous, and the Fidahan Hajr rises to nearly 5,000 feet. The capital is Hadibu, shown on European maps as Tamarida.

The interests of the Western Aden Protectorate are looked after by a small cadre of British political officers and Arab assistant political officers under a British Agent, whose headquarters are in Aden. The political staff who are posted to administrative districts inland advise the local rulers on the administration of their areas, since His Majesty's Government does not administer the Protectorate directly.

The tribes nominate their own chiefs, who have subsequently to be recognised by the Governor of Aden. Not all the chiefs have complete control over their subjects, but since 1943 the authority of some of them has been greatly increased by the introduction of simple administrative machinery. For internal security some of the chiefs have Tribal Guards (paid for by His Majesty's Government as a temporary measure) under the joint control of the British Agent and the chief. In 1937 the Aden Government raised a force known as the Government Guards for police duties in the Western Aden Protectorate; they are stationed inland in fixed posts and are paid for and controlled entirely by Government.

The Western Aden Protectorate consists of the following tribal districts:

ABDALI: His Highness Sultan Fadhl bin Abdul Karim Fadhl, Sultan of Lahej, the premier Chief of the western area. *Capital*: Lahej.

AMIRI: Amir Nasr bin Shaif, C.M.G. *Capital*: Dhala.

FADHLI: Sultan Abdullah bin Uthman. *Capital*: Shuqra.

LOWER YAFA'I: Sultan 'Aidrus bin Muhsin. *Capital*: Al Qara.

HAUSHABI: Sultan Mohammad bin Sarur. *Capital*: Museimir.

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
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There is little rainfall in the littoral and maritime hills; here cultivation is chiefly dependent on irrigation from water channels and courses. In the highlands well irrigation is common and there is heavier rainfall, which is led down ravines and defiles into terraced fields.

Chapter 2: History

For a time in the eighteenth century, the Western Protectorate formed part of the domain of the Imam of Sana'a in the Yemen and several of the rulers of the tribal districts were the Imam's "wakils" or governors until his power declined and they declared their independence.

After the occupation of Aden by the British in 1839, some of the neighbouring chiefs entered into protective treaty relations with Her Majesty's Government. Others followed suit as time went on, the last to do so being the Audhali Sultan in 1914.

In July, 1915, during the first World War, the Turks, who had conquered the Yemen in the course of the previous century, occupied the Abdali, Haushabi and Amiri districts of the Protectorate until the Armistice of 1918.

In 1934 a Treaty of Friendship was signed between His Majesty's Government and the Kingdom of Yemen. There was an Exchange of Notes in 1950 when it was agreed to establish reciprocal diplomatic missions and to set up a Frontier Commission.

In 1944 and 1945 five Western Aden Protectorate Chiefs (the Fadhli, the Lower Aulaqi and the Lower Yafa'i Sultans, the Sharif of Beihan and the Amir of Dhala) entered into closer relations with His Majesty's Government by new treaties in which they agreed, *inter alia*, to abide by the advice of the Governor of Aden in the improvement of their administrations. Similar treaties were signed by the Upper Aulaqi Sheikh and the Audhali Sultan in 1952. In 1952 the newly elected Sultan of Lahej accepted a Political Officer as adviser and signed an advisory treaty.

The most important aspect of recent history in the Eastern Protectorate has been the decline of the traditional power of the Kathiri Sultans and the rise of the Qu'aiti—a new Yafa'i dynasty which gained power and wealth from military and other services rendered by its members abroad to the Nizam of Hyderabad. The Qu'aiti rulers first entered into a treaty with Her Majesty's Government in 1882. This was strengthened in 1888 by the conclusion of a Protectorate treaty in the common form of the treaties with other Protectorate chiefs. In 1918 the Kathiri Sultan made an agreement with the Qu'aiti Sultan acknowledging this treaty as binding on them also. In 1937 and 1939 respectively the Qu'aiti and Kathiri Sultans signed treaties undertaking to accept the advice of a British Resident Adviser in all matters except those concerning Mohammedan religion and custom. The Wahidi Sultan of Belhaf signed an Advisory Treaty in 1949.

30: Gt. Britain G-S (ca. 1918) 1920 Mil Saud: Arabia
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[622] 619 leader, though at ordinary times he may be little more than a figurehead.

619 The British Government has no troops, in normal times, outside a ten-mile radius from the Aden fortress, and does not interfere in 648 tribal or inter-tribal politics. The different confederations are under British influence in varying degrees, but though they have entered into certain treaty obligations they preserve their own autonomy. It may be remarked, broadly, that the obligations are observed—when not inconvenient—in inverse ratio to the protected tribe's distance from Aden. None of the confederations renders tribute to the British Government, either in money or men; none has a standing army in the usually accepted sense, but every adult male is a soldier when occasion requires. Most of the chiefs receive annual stipends from the British Government, and the following are entitled to salutes: the 'Abdāli, the Fadhli, the Ka'aiti (Hadhramaut), and the Amīri, as well as the Sultans of Qishn and Socotra. It should be added that the individual attitude of some of the confederations towards the British has been temporarily disturbed by recent events.

Recent History and Present Politics

• 175 After being in various hands, Aden was definitely captured by the British from the Sultan of the 'Abdāli in January 1839. The 648 Sultan fled to Lahej. From the very first it was evident that the occupation of the town would be of little use unless a good understanding were arrived at with the neighbouring tribes, in whose hands lay the power of interfering with the land-borne trade and the supplies on which, in those early days, the place was so largely dependent. Treaties were therefore concluded successively with the Azzeibi (a branch of the 'Abdāli), the 'Aqrabi, Subeihi, Fadhli, Yāfa', Amīri, and other tribes; but, in spite of treaties, the first years of occupation show a turbulent record with a good deal of fighting. Four unsuccessful attempts to retake Aden by the 'Abdāl, in conjunction with the Fadhli, were made between the years 1839 and 1846; but, since the latter date, only offensive military operations of a minor character have occasionally been necessary against individual offending tribes.

Relations with Turkey, our most powerful neighbour, have been more troublesome. Having relinquished the Yemen for a long period, the Turks found their opportunity to intervene once more, after the evacuation of the district by the Egyptians in 1840. In 1849 a Turkish expedition from Jiddah captured the port of

30: Gt. Britain G-8 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2

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Hodeidah and obtained possession of the Tihāmah; and during the succeeding years the Turks gradually extended their conquests inland from the coast, until, in 1873, they had reached the limits of the tribes under British influence. Thenceforward, aided by intrigue on the part of disaffected tribes or tribal sections, and taking advantage of intertribal feuds, they began to make encroachments, often temporarily successful, on Aden territory, particularly on that occupied by the 'Abdāli, Haushabi, and Amīri confederations. In 1873 occurred the Turkish occupation of Dhāla, the stronghold of the Amīri, which was continued in a greater or less degree until 1903; and in the earlier year the Turks even occupied for a time the fortified house of the 'Abdāli Sultan at Lahej. Though Turkish aggression subsequently made itself felt to some extent all along the Aden–Yemen frontier, it has always been particularly active in the Amīri and Haushabi country. In 1900 trouble occurred between the Turkish tribe of Humar and the Haushabi. The representative of Turkish authority, Mohammed Nāsir Muqbil, an Arab of Humar origin, came to an understanding with the 'Abdāli Sultan and erected a tower at Kafūf, about two miles north-west of Darajah, well within Haushabi limits, from which he and his Humar following were able to cause considerable annoyance to the Haushabi. Representations to the Turkish authority having failed to obtain more than promises of evacuation, a British force was dispatched to help the Haushabi in ejecting them. In the meanwhile Nāsir, by representing to the Turkish authorities at Ta'izz that the British force intended to commit wanton aggression on Turkish territory, induced them to dispatch a force of 400 men, who proceeded to Kafūf and occupied the tower. The Humar, who held the heights of Darajah, were, however, put to flight and the Turks evacuated the place.

As a consequence of this incident, the Porte, which had previously rejected offers of demarcation of the frontier, itself proposed it. The offer was accepted and British and Turkish Commissioners met at Dhāla in January 1902. Negotiations proceeded slowly owing to obstruction by the Turks and to the fact that they persisted in occupying Jalilah within the Aden border. Eventually it was found necessary to exert pressure. A strong British supporting column was dispatched to Dhāla, and, after some time, the Turks withdrew to Qa'tabah and the work of delimitation proceeded. It was completed in May 1904, and since that date until the present war our relations with the Turks in this region have not been unfriendly.

On the outbreak of war with Turkey, on October 31st, 1914, reports indicated that the Turks were in some strength in the Sheikh

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2

*175 648 Sa'id Peninsula and that they were preparing to dispatch troops to act against the Aden Protectorate. Consequently early in November three Indian infantry battalions, then on the voyage to Suez, were ordered to capture Sheikh Sa'id and destroy the Turkish works, armaments, and wells at that place. On November 10th the transports conveying the force arrived off the coast of the Sheikh Sa'id Peninsula; but adverse weather conditions prevented a landing at the point first selected. Covered by the fire of naval guns, a landing was effected elsewhere, all opposition encountered was overcome, and the enemy was driven inland, abandoning his field guns. On November 11th Turbah Fort and other Turkish works in the neighbourhood were destroyed by the troops with the assistance of a naval demolition party.

For some time after these operations the Turks showed no signs of advancing with a view to attacking Aden; but their presence on the northern boundary of the Protectorate rendered it desirable to strengthen the garrison at Aden. Sheikh Sa'id was again occupied by them, and on the night of June 14th–15th, 1915, they endeavoured to effect a landing on the north coast of Perim; but this attack was successfully driven off by the garrison of the island. During the latter half of that month reports indicated a possible Turkish advance on Lahej from Māwiyah. On definite information being received that such an advance was about to be made, the Aden movable column was ordered to move out to Sheikh 'Othmān on the evening of July 3rd. Early the following morning the advance was continued to Lahej, to which place the Aden troops had previously been dispatched. The intense heat, sand, and shortage of water rendered the march and the subsequent operations most trying, but, in spite of these hindrances, the advance guard reached their objective and engaged the Turks just beyond Lahej on the evening of July 4th. But the desertion of the hired camels and the severe climatic conditions so delayed and distressed the main body as to necessitate, on July 5th, a withdrawal from Lahej to Khōr Maksar. After the withdrawal the Turks occupied Sheikh 'Othmān, and it was decided to increase temporarily the Aden garrison.

On July 20th, after reinforcements had been received, the Aden troops with two batteries of artillery moved out of the town to attack the enemy next morning. The Turks, completely surprised, were expelled from Sheikh 'Othmān with considerable loss, and several hundred prisoners, mostly Arabs, were taken. In August a small column engaged the garrison of the Turkish post of Fiyūsh, eight miles north of Sheikh 'Othmān, and forced the enemy to retire on Lahej; and a few days later another successful reconnaissance

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
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was made towards Waht. On the receipt of reports in September that the Turks were preparing to retire from Lahej, a column surprised the enemy, estimated at 700 Turks with eight guns and 1,000 Arabs, and seized and occupied Waht. In October and again in December our cavalry had small affairs with hostile reconnoitring parties, in which the latter were driven off with loss; and in December friendly Arabs, supported by a small infantry detachment, drove off a hostile Turkish and Arab force which was advancing on 'Imād.

Owing to the Turks dispatching troops to coerce the tribes in the east of the Aden Protectorate, a demonstration in support of these tribes was made by the Aden movable column on January 12th, 1916, in the direction of Subar. The column located a Turkish force near Subar, about 4 m. SSE. of Lahej, and engaged it, inflicting considerable losses on it. As a result of this action the Turkish pressure on the Arab tribes is reported to have been relieved. Since then there has been little change.

The strength of the principal tribal units and the political attitude of their rulers are described in the sections on the Tribal Confederations (pp. 206 ff.).

DISTRICTS AND TOWNS

I. Aden Settlement

The Settlement of Aden comprises the following divisions: (1) the peninsula and isthmus, or Aden proper, which has an area of about 21 square miles and a population, in 1915, of 36,900; (2) Sheikh 'Othmān and the district round, inclusive of the villages of 'Imād and Hiswah, which has an area of 39 square miles and a population of 7,700; (3) Little Aden peninsula, with 15 square miles of area and population 330; and (4) the island of Perim, with 5 square miles of area and population 1,300. The total area of the Settlement is therefore about 80 square miles, with a total population of just over 46,000 souls.

The British territory was at first limited to the peninsula of Aden proper, and extended only to Khōr Maksar creek, which forms the neck of the peninsula two miles north of the defensive works across the isthmus. In 1868 the peninsula of Little Aden, or Jebel Ihsan, was acquired by purchase from the Sultan of the 'Aqrabi. In 1882, owing to the increasing population of Aden town, a further small tract of territory was acquired by purchase, from the Sultan of Lahej, beyond the Khōr Maksar creek, extending to just beyond the small village of 'Imād on the north and just beyond the town